

RED SALUTE TO COMRADE CHOU EN-LAI

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh's Condolence Message

The Charge-de-Affairs
Of the People's Republic of China in India
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New Delhi-110021

I on behalf of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Centre of India, the toiling people of India and myself express deep grief and heartfelt condolence at the passing away of a great communist leader of China Comrade Chou En-Lai stop It is an irreparable loss not only to the people of China, marching towards complete victory of socialism but also to the International Communist Movement, the liberation struggles of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, and to the revolutionary struggles of the people all over the world stop Please convey this message to Comrade Mao Tse-Tung, Chairman of the Communist Party of China and to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and to the people of China stop

SHIBDAS GHOSH
General Secretary
Central Committee
Socialist Unity Centre of India

Excerpts From "Tasks Ahead of the Students and Youths"

—Comrade Shibdas Ghosh

".....Our country is passing through a very critical situation—political, economic, social and more so in the field of cultural and ethical activities of the society. You have all noticed and I think, all the right-thinking persons of our country are noticing with much agony and anxiety that there is a steady decline in our moral and ethical standard. Now a days, it is not an isolated act of this sect or that sect, of this group or that group who do not bother about any standard of culture, of any norm of ethics and morality. Today moral depravity has assumed such a proportion and has taken such a naked form that it may seem just like a biological natural affair to many people. Indeed, there are empiricists engaged in so-called scientific research work, who have concluded almost like this. As if it is a race, to-day living in India which has a biological naturalness of not making any concern towards any kind of values. By this what they want to suggest is that as if some biological intrinsic factors are inherent in our people for which they are basically incapable of making such concerns. To conclude like this is not only unscientific and unhistoric but simply preposterous. Be that as it may, what is agitating the mind of every honest thinking person is why this suffocating situation? Why such an unbearable phenomenon, a heart-breaking phenomenon developed in our society? You will have to probe into the deep of the problem. Because, I think, this is a very important question. So important a question if not correctly handled with, if we cannot correctly handle the question and find out the correct answer, I am afraid whether we can also correctly lead political battles in our country to

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Comrade Chou En-lai

Born in 1898, Comrade Chou En Lai the First Vice-Chairman of the Communist Party of China, the Premier of the People's Republic of China and one of the revered leaders of the Socialist China breathed his last on 8th January '76 at 09 57 A.M. In his early student life he was imprisoned several times for his political activities.

During his higher studies in Paris he organised the overseas wing of the C.P.C. in 1921. On his return to China, three years later, he joined Whampoa Military Academy, founded by Dr. Sun Yet Sen. In this Academy Com. Ho Chi Minh was one of his colleagues. Com. Chou soon became the Director of its Political Department.

Chiang Kai Shek, after the death of Dr. Sen became the K.M.T. chief and soon in a bid to uproot the communists, unleashed terror and the massacre of 1927 but could not halt the expanding activities of the communists. The first Central Soviet Government was formed in 1931 and Comrade Chou became the Vice-Chairman. The historic Long March under the leadership of Comrade Mao-Tse-tung, began in 1934, will for ever recognise the men of legends and Com. Chou himself made legends. The history of Long March will not ever forget Comrade Chou.



During Japanese invasion in 1937 Com. Chou became the Vice Minister of the political training board under Chiang when K M T-Communist joint front against the Jap invaders was formed.

After the world war-II, Com. Chou represented the CPC in the negotiation with Chiang of KMT for the peace-bid. But the negotiations broke-down in the early stage. The KMT were driven out ultimately in 1949. The CPC under the leadership of Com. Mao-Tse-tung seized power, Com. Chou became the Prime Minister and he was in his office till death.

Comrade Chou showed in him a unique blending of deep understanding of Marxism-Leninism and revolutionary politics with ready wit and sophistication which made him invincible in all international conferences. This is a rare quality found only among the communist revolutionaries of the first rank which has nothing to do with shrewdness or diplomacy—a typical product of bourgeois politics. Com.

Chou's performances in Geneva Conference in 1954 for the solution of Indo-Chinese problems and in the historic Bundung Conference of 1955 where the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence popularly known as "Panch-Sheel" was first evolved is still remembered with great admiration even by the common people engaged in liberation struggle against imperialism and colonial exploitation.

It was through the untiring efforts of Com. Chou En-lai, undoubtedly the able leadership of Com. Mao-Tse-tung based on correct appreciation of the cross currents of the present international situation that the People's Republic of China could give a complete defeat to the policy of containment of China so-long followed by the American imperialists. This has put the aggressive American imperialism, however temporarily, on the defensive and heightened the prestige of China. Their recognition and honourable position of China in the UNO is associated with memory of no less a person than Com. Chou who brilliantly applied in practice the teachings of Com. Mao in international politics. His is a name which always comes next to Com. Mao-Tse-tung as an architect of modern China. An able leader, a strong defender of the cause of revolution and a

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Portugal—In Retrospect

After the tragic disaster in the communist movements in Indonesia and Chile it was expected that the communist parties of all the countries of the world would draw appropriate lessons from those events and apply the same in formulating the strategy and tactics of revolution in their respective countries. But the political line of the Communist Party of Portugal and the support extended to it by revisionist Soviet leadership along with other communist parties of Europe prove beyond doubt that no lesson has been taken from the events in Indonesia and Chile.

While analysing the political line of the Communist Party of Indonesia, our party, under the leadership of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, the renowned Marxist thinker of the era and the leader and teacher of our party, brilliantly explained the reasons behind such a catastrophe. In the context of the recent events in Portugal it is all the more necessary to go through the teachings of Comrade Ghosh, which were shown ten years ago. He pointed out that it was wrong not to take into cognisance the state apparatus as a system along with its different organs like military, police, bureaucracy etc., and any attempt to capture power by replacing the system not through mass upsurge but by removing a few highly-placed officials was nothing but an anti-Marxist-Leninist line of conspiratorial activity of the upper stratum of the society. In the yardstick of this teachings of Comrade Ghosh it is necessary to analyse the political line of the Communist Party of Portugal.

Political line of the Communist Party of Portugal

After the overthrow of the autocratic regime in Portugal on 25th April, 1974, the Communist Party of Portugal adopted its political line in an extraordinary Congress. According to this line the main task in the present phase of Portuguese revolution is to put an end to fascistic designs of the state machine and to establish in its place a democratic norm in the existing state structure, to strengthen it, protect the freedom and rights of the people, bring about stability in economy and decolonise the colonies.

Without drawing any lesson from the events in Indonesia, the Communist Party of Portugal decided that the tasks that were to be accomplished in order to strengthen democracy and protect the rights and liberties of the people were to remove the reactionaries from the important posts in administration, military and police and to replace them by men who were supporters of the present set-up.

In this way the administration was to be toned up and the military and police were to be converted as the protector of the democratic set-up, meaning bourgeois democratic set up, as against the fascistic machinations of the previous regimes.

The Communist Party of Portugal thinks that in order to establish a democratic state, unity between the masses and the military is to be built up as, according to them, it is the main condition for establishing democracy in Portugal. They think that if the unity between the people and the military is disturbed, the task of building a democratic Portugal will get a severe jolt.

On national questions, participation of the people is to be ensured and for this purpose close co-operation between the government and political parties, trade unions and all democratic mass organisations is to be built up.

As regards the mass movement in the present phase of revolution, the Communist Party of Portugal considered that those movements which might create apprehension and discontent among the petty-bourgeoisie and the military and thereby might create cleavage within the

working class were to be discarded for the present. In fine, the Communist Party of Portugal demanded the election of Constituent Assembly for framing a new constitution.

That is, in a nutshell, the political line of the Portuguese Communist Party. The main question that cropped up centering round the political line of the Indonesian Communist Party has been echoed in the political line of the Portuguese Communist Party though under different political situation. But before commenting on this question, let us examine the present political situation in Portugal.

Political situation in Portugal

The bourgeoisie of Portugal were in state power and even before the overthrow of the dictatorial regime by military uprising on 25th of April, 1974, Portugal was a bourgeois state. Though relatively weak in comparison with the imperialist powers like Britain, France, Germany etc., the bourgeois state of Portugal gave birth to monopoly finance capital and became an imperialist state. The Portuguese army not only did not attain any nationalist tradition but, on the contrary, it carried an imperialist heritage of the past. The main character of the state had not undergone any change inspite of the overthrow of the dictatorial regime. It is a fact that along with the working class and the oppressed masses of the people the liberal section of the bourgeoisie also wanted the end of the dictatorial regime and this liberal section of the bourgeoisie seized the state power with the military uprising. There was influences of the working class party along with other parties in the uprising and inspite of the fact that some of them played a very important role, the liberal bourgeois character of the uprising did not undergo any change. In this case the leadership was not in the

hand of the proletariat and it did not attain the character of proletarian revolution.

Secondly, the Government installed after the uprising on 25th April, 1974 was removed and in the new set up after the removal of the former Government, supremacy of some left oriented individuals was temporarily established and even in the highest policy making body of the armed forces the leftists gained control. But by this neither the armed forces nor the bourgeois character of the state was changed and neither was it possible. Within a few months the anti-communist section of the armed forces along with the socialists and a few other bourgeois parties forced the left oriented individuals to resign from the Government and also from the policy making body of the military and the supremacy of the anti-communist forces was established in Government and in military. Later on, the leftist section of the armed forces tried to dislodge the Government by military pressure but the anti-communist section of the armed forces crushed them. At present the leftists are being driven out from the armed forces and are being removed from important posts and some of them are even being arrested. The representation of the communist party in the Government has been curtailed drastically and even pressure is being mounted to remove them altogether. In the mean time election for Constituent Assembly was held and the Socialist party secured the first position and the Communist Party which obtained 12% votes secured the third position.

New possibility slipped away

It is necessary to ponder why the Communist Party of Portugal has been cornered today. Though there had not been any basic change in the state structure and in social condition yet new possibilities were created for the establishment of democratic rights after the over-

throw of the dictatorial regime in April 25, 1974. It is true that these possibilities had limitations—the limitations of bourgeois social order. After the overthrow of dictatorial regime a new coalition Government was installed at the initiative of the Armed Forces Movement and the Communist Party of Portugal was also represented in that Government. The left influence within the armed forces was not also insignificant and so a new possibility was created for the Communist Party.

There was thus scope on the one hand to provide relief to the people as far as possible through reforms even within the limitations of the bourgeois social order and on the other hand it was possible to establish and enlarge the democratic rights of the people by controlling the police and the military. And so new possibility emerged to develop mass movements speedily and also to build up instruments of struggles of the oppressed people of all levels. Thus the foundation of a powerful anti-capitalist revolutionary movement could have been laid by combining the movements of the oppressed masses of the people with the left movement that was developing within the armed forces. The congenial atmosphere necessary for proceeding in this fashion was also prevalent after the overthrow of the dictatorial regime as the oppressed masses wanted to become free not only from the dictatorial rule but also from all sorts of oppressions. New aspiration of freedom was created in the mind of all sections of the oppressed people after the overthrow of the dictatorship, so it was observed that even within a section of the armed forces leftism was rapidly growing.

It was all the more necessary to proceed in the way mentioned above by the Communist Party as the liberal bourgeoisie were attempting to channelise the aspiration of the masses in the constitutional process in order to conso-

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THE RURAL SECTOR—THE WIDENING GAP

Intervening in the debate on the resolution on economic situation in the 75th plenary session of the Congress, Sri Jagajivan Ram, the Agricultural Minister said that in last one year, many states had either amended or changed land reform laws and that efforts were being made to ensure vigorous implementation. He was, however, of the opinion that to achieve full success, his own partymen should also take keen interest and should also see that laws for liquidation of indebtedness were properly implemented.

Sri Ram laid greater stress on the co-operation of his own Partymen for the success of the government's announcements about land reform as also minimum wages to the agricultural labourers. He therefore suggested that Congress headquarters should obtain reports whether all its partymembers who owned lands were giving minimum wages to agricultural labourers.

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There might have been immediate causes for Sri Ram's apprehensions. On the eve of the Congress Session, the Agricultural Minister got two reports—the Agricultural Census (first of its kind in the country) prepared by his own ministry and the second a Survey on the performance about unearthing and distribution of surplus land. Both of them bring no joy to any sensible mind.

For, whatever satisfaction the Agricultural Minister might have drawn about the land reforms measure, to be specific, about unearthing benaam transactions in lands by the Jotedars, recovery of those lands and their distribution amongst the rural poor, facts are there to prove otherwise.

According to 'Blitz' reporter ('Blitz' December 20, '75) a survey prepared on the eve of the Congress session showed that surplus land so far bestowed on the landless is a "Measly 1, 36, 637 acres all over India".

The reporter writes: "Nearly six months have passed since Mrs. Gandhi spelt out her economic imperatives to the nation giving them pride of precedence over other

measures but all that the states have achieved is 6, 54, 620 acres of declared surplus out of which only 3, 23, 661 acres have been actually taken possession of." The record of distribution, as cited above, is still worse.

According to this reporter, many states have taken the plea that the performance is tardy because of the intervention by courts but according to the survey, available data preclude this conclusion except in Gujrat, Haryana and Punjab.

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In the early stages, the States were demanding the Constitutional protection by inclusion of the state land reforms enactments in the Ninth Schedule of the Constitution. That being done, the actual performance shows difficulty elsewhere. The Task Force of the planning commission pinpointed it by holding that it was the lack of political will of those who wield political power that impeded this simple bourgeois reform in our country. For, it is no socialism to distribute lands as per ceilings laid down by laws of the land. The capitalist countries in Europe and elsewhere did it long time before as a bourgeois land reform.

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... The State Government of Bihar observed two years as 'land reform years' but all that it has achieved is the acquisition of 2,000 acres out of a declared surplus of 23,700 acres from 322 cases disposed of so far. How much of this has been distributed and to what categories of persons appears to be a state secret.

Similar records of performance can be seen in Andhra Pradesh where till August the State had only 672 acres of surplus to show but that too not distributed. Madhya Pradesh acquired till October only 15 acres out of declared surplus of 3,517 acres against estimated availability of 50,000 acres: Uttar Pradesh acquired till October 47,359 acres and Rajasthan 66,375 acres but out of these only 8,591 and 5,295 acres distributed respectively according to the Survey.

Yet, this minimum democratic reform fails to touch the very fringe of the real problem of the poor and landless peasants who constitute the vast majority in the countryside.

Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, our beloved leader and teacher and an eminent Marxist thinker has been, for long, imparting the valuable guide to real solution of the basic problems that confront the poor and landless peasants as well as the working people of our country. Long before, Comrade Ghosh warned that solution to the real problems of the vast multitude of landless and destitute peasantry could not be found in getting them arrested in tiny patches of uneconomic holdings. Poverty neither of the people nor of agriculture can be wiped out by this measure but would only be perpetuated. It was Comrade Ghosh who pointed out for the first time in our country refuting all sorts of petty-bourgeois and bourgeois logic that preponderance of uneconomic holdings in the rural sector is the cumulative effect of law of growth of capitalist exploitative system and accelerating alienation of lands and their concentration in the thin percentage of rural bourgeoisie. This situation cannot be altered unless the very capitalist exploitative productive system is uprooted and scientific socialist law of production strikes root, instead, in the economy. That alone can create

material base for un-interrupted industrial revolution which is essential for absorption of surplus manpower of the rural sector when agriculture is to be fully modernised and mechanised.

Comrade Ghosh's analysis of the fundamental socio-economic problems have been vindicated again and again. No wonder that the Agricultural Census, has done a service, if not for anything but in testifying that in the concrete analyses of Comrade Shibdas Ghosh are reflected the social reality as also the real guide to solution of the basic socio-economic problems.

Let us see how; The Agricultural Census, was conducted with the agricultural year 1970-71 as the reference year. Only the broad features of the Census are being presented here.

Preponderance of marginal holdings (below 1.0 hectare) is one of the dominant features of operational holdings in India. Half of the number of operational holdings (of the total 70.5 million holdings) are marginal although their contribution to total area is only nine percent. This shows steady rate of alienation and fragmentation of lands in the last decade. While according to the 16th and 17th rounds of national sample survey in 1961-62 the p.c. of marginal holdings was 39 p.c. the same is now 50 p.c. And although the p.c. of big land owners remains almost static at 4 p.c. their grip over the land area has increased over the decade from 24 p.c. to 31 p.c. This means that 2.8 million holdings cover 50.22 million hectares.

Nineteen p.c. of the holdings are small (1.0—2.0 hectares) and they cover 12 p.c. of the area. Semi-medium holdings (2.0—4.0 hectares) constitute 15 p.c. of the total number and 19 p.c. of the total area. So, along with the large holdings, if the medium holdings

are taken together, it means that 10.57 million holdings have in their possession 108 million hectares whereas the rest of the peasantry accounting for nearly 60 million holdings have between them only 54 million hectares.

... .. fact revealed by the census. It shows that even supported by subsidised irrigation, loans, fertilisers and technical expertise, the big farmers are not interested to increase production beyond a certain level because of fear of market problem and as a result, 50 p.c. of the total 12.4 million hectares of cultivable land lying fallow belong to the big farmers.

... .. According to the Census of the total operational holdings of 70.5 million spread over a total area of 162 million hectares, only 12.4 million holding with 12.2 million hectares are wholly irrigated, 17 million holdings with 46 million hectares are partly irrigated leaving 41 million holding with 77 million hectares (47 p.c. of the total area) entirely dependant on monsoon.

It would therefore be obvious that the increasing number of uneconomic holdings, poor means for scientific cultivation, dependence on monsoon and hazards associated with it as also grinding capitalist exploitation are accelerating the process of alienation of lands from the poor and destitute farmers and as also the lower middle (semi-medium land holdings) peasants. Distribution of lands without ensuring their economic viability will only accentuate this process.

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Comrade Shibdas Ghosh our revered leader and teacher and an eminent Marxist thinker of the era has warned us again and again against the illusion that intellectual pedlars of capitalism are never tired of spreading. They hold out an idyllic world where

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their logical conclusions, whether we can solve, we can take active measures and steps, concrete steps to bring about a fundamental change in our politico-economic and social structure and thereby solve the burning economic and other problems of our country. Because as you know, political economic and all social problems are always linked up with certain questions, with certain vital questions without solving which you cannot solve any of the items of these problems. These are questions relating to power set-up, politico economic and social system of the country. These are all related to the class character of the state and the particular and peculiar character of our economic system, which we call capitalism, a capitalist economic system. Everything, every social malady affecting our life is cropping up from this material base and from these two important factors.....

".....Comrades, always remember that antagonistic classes and class struggles appeared in the society at a particular phase of development of production in history and from then on classes and class struggles existed and are still continuing to exist something like independent of our will and class struggle is acting as the lever in the process of development of human society. Until the classes, the class exploitation, the class struggles and the class instrument of oppression and coercion, i.e. the state disappear in course of development of class struggle from the arena of the development of human society the society remains as a field of intensive class battle. So, there can be no single approach to the problems of national interest, national unity, education and educational reforms. All approaches to these problems, whether progressive or reactionary, whether serving the interest of the bourgeoisie openly or in disguise, or serving the interest of the toiling masses and their revolutionary struggles are

EXCERPTS FROM "TASKS AHEAD OF THE STUDENTS AND YOUTHS"

to be judged on the anvil of class struggle and class political outlook. All other way to find out a correct approach and programme of struggle are not only deceptive but dangerous too. Any honest thinking people who talk of revolution will have to understand this question. Because, if they are really interested in bringing about social transformation, in bringing about a fundamental change in the politico-economic and social structure then they will have to know the laws, the very laws which are governing all the activities in the process of development of class struggle. Unless and until we get to know this we cannot accelerate the process of change in the society. We may have a dream of social change and revolution. But we cannot have any impact or influence on that process. In that case all our theories will be sterile and our action will be a blind one in spite of our devotion and dedication.....

".....Honesty and dedication are ABC conditions, just the starting point, without which nothing can be done. Because, if a good line, a correct theory, a correct line is grasped, even then if a man is not honest and dedicated he cannot give it a shape, he cannot translate it into action. For translating any idea into action, be it for the revolutionaries or for the counter-revolutionaries, they need honesty. If they want to mean something, if they want to change a power structure, if they want to do revolution or counter-revolution they need dedication, they need a kind of discipline, they need determination. These are fundamental things. Without these qualities of character you cannot do anything. But the next important question and the most vital one is to have a correct and scientific outlook and a correct base political line without which in spite of

dedication and power of sacrifice you can do nothing rather you will do something harmful. Because, everything when you do, if it is wrong, if it cannot serve the purpose of the people, if it cannot accelerate the process of change, then it is not neutral not nothing. It will invariably, directly or indirectly, have an adverse effect on progressive movements, will strengthen the reactionaries. Every action has its reaction. If it is correct there will be a correct reaction. If it is incorrect don't think it will have no reaction. Not that. It will have bad reaction giving scope for the reactionaries to consolidate this way or that way the existing system. So, to have a correct approach and a correct base political line and programme of struggle are of fundamental importance.....

".....So, in a class divided society like ours, talks of nation, national interest, education and educational reforms, interest of the students and of the people—if are not talked in terms of class references and in its relationship with the existing class struggle then one is sure to commit mistake and will invariably be played in the hands of the bourgeoisie.....

"Comrades, you should always remember that in a class divided society educational reforms and all educational problems can only be posed from two angles, from two world outlooks. One reflecting the world outlook of the bourgeoisie, the ruling class the exploiters, aims at tuning, patterning and manning the education system in such a way as to develop certain traits of mind which are inimical to social progress, namely, neglect of duty, professional egocentricism, a complete indifference to the social and political problems of the country, develop a mental faculty which is not bent on logic and science but naturally bent on belief,

religion and all sorts of obscurant ideas and finally to develop contempt for social action. Another is to approach all these questions with a revolutionary outlook, that is proletarian class outlook to open the gate for reasoning, scientific understanding, for a scientific faculty of mind....

".....Comrades, all of you after completing your education will have to face the problem of unemployment. Except a few revolutionary cadres from among you, every individual member of our large community of youths and students who may be the supporters of revolution but not fully engaged and dedicated in the revolutionary struggles will have to face this problem. And I am speaking precisely of those members of our large community of the youths and students. It is a real and heart breaking problem for them. After completing their course of education they will have to face the magnitude of the problem of unemployment. They will feel all the concomitant evil of the present day society, what many of them in their student life now do not feel. But when they will enter into the family life, take up the responsibilities, they will marry and have children, then they will surely start feeling what kind of social environment they are living in. Then they will find that all their dreams are shattered. They may also find at that time that they cannot live only with their kith and kin in isolation. The existing social maladies will have direct influence and bearing even on their private life which they used to think most secret and sacred. They may realise at that time that they cannot even save their secret and so-called sacred private life from being polluted and degraded by the existing maladies in the social environment. This is a must. Probably, they will learn it then. So, is it not better that

without dreaming of such a kind of useless degrading, humiliating and parasitic way of life we dedicate ourselves fully in revolutionary struggles for bringing about a fundamental change of our society and thereby pave the way for the freest, widest and speediest development of all individuals of our society i.e. their political, economic, cultural and ethical way of life? For that you will have to adhere to a revolutionary ideology—Marxism—Leninism, scientific socialism—which speaks in terms of class references, which speaks to you that if you want to bring about a fundamental change in the socio-economic-political system you must have, along with your struggling ability, a researchive mind, you will have to develop in you an aptitude of constantly and continuously learning from the masses. In this way, knowing the problems thoroughly and crystallising your ideas, you will be able to find out the correct way, the correct path. This is why Marx one day told the oppressed, exploited and downtrodden people of the whole world that don't worry, there may be arms, guns, artillery, anti-aircraft guns in the hands of the bourgeoisie, the capitalists, they may have mechanised army, but Marxism, a science, is such a powerful weapon in your hands, if properly understood and applied to, it can give birth to an invincible power. If you can learn Marxism-Leninism thoroughly and become able to apply it correctly into practice, then and then only you can grasp revolution correctly, you can grasp the process of development of society—trace the inherent hidden law which is governing the activities of all the forces, stipulating the development of the society, that means, if you can get to know the law of development of class struggle, then you will acquire an invincible power and ultimately you will be the conqueror of the modern world. Yes,

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you can conquer it provided you can master over the science, Marxism-Leninism. No arms can compete with this. It is a decisive weapon in the hands of the working class, the masses and the toilers. So, what is most urgently needed at present is to acquire knowledge which is creative and also decisive, which alone can provide you with such power as to see those hidden laws which are governing the entire course of development of the society. In this way, while engaging yourselves in the struggles of the masses and other day-to-day political work, if you can prepare yourselves politically and ideologically, only then you can trace out the specific laws which are governing the specific class struggles and understand all its peculiarities, appearing, developing in a particular environment of a given society.

"So, Marxism-Leninism is a science which must be carefully studied and re-studied, studied in a way so that you can apply it into practice, studied in a way so that you can deliver it to the masses, not only to write a book and surly not to quote from it at your sweet will. Marxism teaches us that to know and to realise are different things. If you can realise Marxism-Leninism then you can put it before the people in the easiest way and you will find that people understand it easily.....

".....Comrades, remember, those who can sacrifice at the initial stage for ideology and idea—they are not many people, they are always few people—young, bright and students. At every stage of development of the society, in every country, it is the students and young people who came forward being influenced by and imbued with the revolutionary ideology

PRESS CLIPPING

"The great thought that must animate and restrain this process is that we must avoid opportunist adventurism, irresponsible extremism and liquidation of those lasting constitutional values like republican parliamentarism and the supremacy of the court in the assigned sphere."

"It is surprising that a welfare state with socialistic claims should bleed the litigant by an initial insistence of payment of more than a tithe of the very claim"

There was "no moral or social justification for such a heavy levy unknown in any other country"

(Justice V.R. Krishna Iyer in a speech to the Andhra Pradesh State Lawyers' Conference on January 3, '76—Economic Times, 4.1.76)

"Even in the days of foreign rule the courts enforced the principle that any action by the executive against the citizen would have to be supported by law and that a court of law could go in to the cases of detention and other interference with personal liberty e.g. the right of free speech and free press. We should continue this elementary principle or a free democracy when we are governing ourselves. The courts scrutiny is necessary, however limited under the present laws which provide in effect that anyone can be put in jail without a trial; that no citizen can plead a right to liberty based on common law, natural law or rules of natural justice, that a government official may not be permitted to disclose even to a court of

and being completely dedicated go to the masses, rouse the masses, organise them in thousands and help them in creating their political power.....

[From the address to the All India Students Conference Organised by AIDSO on 12th to 14th January, 1974 at Cuttack, Orissa]

law the grounds for detention, and that anyone who has been released by a court may be rearrested and reimprisoned without a trial for undisclosed reasons which may be the same reasons for which he was first detained before his release by the court."

(N.A. Palkhivala's article "Should We Alter Our Constitution?" — Illustrated Weekly—January 4.1.76.)

In a trial on March 18, 1922, Gandhiji was charged with publishing four articles in 'Young India' which according to the prosecution, tended to cause disaffection against the government. In a statement before Mr. C.N. Broomfield, the District and Sessions Judge, Ahmedabad, Gandhiji said: "The only course open to you, the judge, is either... ..resign your post or inflict on me the severest penalty if you believe that the system and law you are assisting to administer are good for the people."

(Photograph with the caption 'He Got Hearing under the British'—the remark and quotation —Illustrated weekly, 4-10 January '76)

"Those who had hoped that the scope and nature of the Press Ordinances, unprecedented as they are, were a pointer to the end of the emergency have been proved wrong. But everyone will hope that the Congress Party's present obsession with amending the constitution will take fully into account the checks and balances needed in a democracy, to which Mrs. Gandhi has again placed herself. That the present constitution has been found wanting in some respects will not be disputed by many, but it is a document evolved after long study and discussion and is based on the universal premise of a democracy that checks and balances are necessary. An alternative constitution, or a major amendment of the present one,

must therefore embody adequate safeguards."

(From Editorial—"The Statesman" 3.1.76.)

December 23rd,—In modern times, fascism will no longer come back with the same old postures. Now fascism may come out under the garb of democracy and socialism too.

The Union Labour Minister Sri Raghunath Reddy said it before the employees of the United Bank Of India in a meeting organised by the Employees' Union on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of the Bank in Calcutta. The Minister said, now crisis in social, economic, political and moral fields is prevailing. Socialist forces are to be consolidated to overcome this crisis.

(Jugantar, 24.12.75)

Mr. Jagjivan Ram, the Union Minister for Food and Agriculture said on Friday that a synthesis of science and spiritualism could alone save humanity and bring about a new world order.

Speaking at the International Aryan Conference organised by the Arya Samaj in the Ramlila grounds, Mr. Jagjivan Ram emphasised that India was the only country which could take a lead in this direction.

(Statesman, 27.12.75)

No Personality Cult

Kamagata Maru Nagar, 29th December: Prime Minister Indira Gandhi deprecated the development of any personality cult and advised her admirers to raise slogans like "Garib Zindabad", not "Desh ke neta Indira Gandhi".

Mrs. Gandhi said: No individual can be the nation. The nation comprises of its people.

Indira Hindustan

Mrs. Gandhi announced that after "Vande Mataram" a patriotic song would be sung. Every one must

stand up when "Vande Mataram" is sung.

The song, "Indira Hindustan Ban Gayi, Janta Ki Pehchan Ban Gayi", was sung by Naredra Chanchal popular playback singer.

—Economic Times, 30.12.75.

Kamagata Maru Nagar 30th December:

Mr. Sanjoy Gandhi today had an hour-long cross country joy ride in the "Sona uran Khatola" a huge hot-air balloon, here this morning.

As the balloon went up majestically from its site near the AICC pavilion in the exhibition organised here on the occasion of the Congress Session, Mr. Gandhi waved to the cheering people and threw leaflets containing the Prime Minister's photograph and the twenty-point economic programme.

—Economic Times, 31.12.75.

What marked this session out from all others in the past was the hundred per cent unity displayed by Congressmen. Some amount of discontent was noticeable in the manner in which the Youth-Congress meeting was organised but everything else must have satisfied the leadership without any reservation. The spirit that prompted the Government of India to impose internal emergency has been fully imbibed by all Congressmen.

I have reported many Congress session and have read about many others. The unity and discipline displayed at this session were indeed unprecedented. Even under Mahatma Gandhi and Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru discordant voices were raised, sometimes very powerfully. Mrs. Gandhi must be said to have unified the Party to the fullest extent imaginable, judging by the proceedings of this session.

The Sunday, 4.1.76.

(Contd. from Page 2)

litate the parliamentary system speedily.

Thus the struggle between two lines—i.e. the line pursued by the liberal bourgeois leadership to establish and consolidate the bourgeois parliamentary system on one hand and the line of anti-capitalist revolutionary movement for the emancipation of the masses on the other was gradually becoming inevitable.

So, under the present phase of the democratic movement in Portugal, the Communist Party of Portugal could have introduced pro-people reforms even within the limitations of the bourgeois social order and attempted to establish and enlarge the democratic rights of the masses, to build up people's own instrument of struggle to conduct mass movement to develop organisations of the oppressed masses at all levels and to give birth to an alternative anti-capitalist political power of the masses. In this way the Communist Party of Portugal could have established ideological and organisational leadership over the entire masses of the oppressed people. With this aim in view it was necessary to control the bureaucracy and the police.

So, in order to fulfil these objectives, the Communist Party should have behaved in such a way so that the coalition Government might continue and they ought to have attempted to make other partners agree to the programmes of those progressive policies which were conducive to the establishment and enlargement of democratic rights of the people and the policy of controlling the bureaucracy and police was introduced. In this way these parties should have been arrested on the basis of common minimum programmes and at the same time relentless ideological struggle should have been conducted on the basis of unity-struggle-unity to keep the people alert about these social democratic parties. It was necessary to conduct relentless ideological struggles while

moving unitedly in order to reflect the wishes and aspirations of the people within and outside the Government, within the Constituent Assembly and in all available forums and also to expose the anti-people activities of these social democratic parties before the people. As a result, these parties could have been isolated from the people even while moving unitedly and they would have made the same fate if they broke the unity.

But the Communist Party of Portugal did not move in this way and they tried to capture power through close co-operation with the left oriented section of the armed forces. Instead of isolating the other partners through ideological struggles, the Communist Party took recourse to force with the help of the leftist section within the armed forces to close down the journals and press of other parties to forcefully obstruct other parties to carry on trade union activities etc. etc. and they made the Constituent Assembly virtually defunct through threats and intimidation. The coalition Government was thus practically useless.

It was because of this attitude that the Communist Party of Portugal failed to establish ideological and organisational leadership over the masses. On the contrary, as they identified themselves with the state apparatus, the instrument of coercion, they were confronted with the wrath of the people and the reactionary parties who are the real protector of the present state got an opportunity to sway the masses in their favour. Even the imperialist powers and their stooge got a golden opportunity to openly support and extend help to the Portuguese social democratic parties. Contradiction within the armed forces also gradually sharpened and the liberal section cornered the left-oriented section of the military and they

ultimately captured the leadership. Thus excepting their organised strength, the Communist Party is totally isolated from the broad masses of the people and because of the absence of the necessary instruments of struggle to conduct mass movements and being deprived of the support from the left section of the armed forces the Communist Party is totally cornered and has lost the new opportunity that opened up before the country. The nobility of communism was thus maligned in the hands of the Communist Party of Portugal, the communists here became the target of people's wrath and the socialists, the fake friends of the people became highly popular. All these were due to the blunder committed by the Portuguese Communist Party.

Wrong Political Line

The political line adopted by the Communist Party of Portugal was bound to lead them to such a position. At a particular stage of social revolution of Portugal, the working class party got the opportunity to handle the bourgeois state machine. Members and supporters of the working class party were also present within the military, police and bureaucracy. But even under such condition, no political decision to strengthen the state machine ought to have been adopted as in such an eventuality what was to be consolidated was nothing but the bourgeois state. But unfortunately the Communist Party of Portugal took such a wrong political line.

There had been a rapid spread of progressive thinking within the Portuguese military and the number of cadres and supporters of the Communist Party was also rapidly increasing. This undoubtedly created a new possibility. But in spite of these developments it remains a reality that this military is the organ of the bourgeois state and the ultimate protector of the state and

acts as the mainstay of the state. In a bourgeois state the working class is suppressed with the help of the military. In a revolutionary battle confrontation with the military machine of the bourgeoisie becomes inevitable. So, any attempt to unite the masses with the military with a view to implementing revolution is fraught with danger and is anti-communist in character. But the Communist Party of Portugal committed a great blunder. The Communist Party took the decision of avoiding the path of mass movement to fulfil the tasks of so-called national democratic revolution in order to avoid discontent among the military, police and bureaucracy; instead of fulfilling the primary responsibility of smashing the bourgeois state machine some reactionary elements were replaced from high positions by supporters of the present set up. In this way the Communist Party tried to transform these bourgeois institutions into instruments of people's will. But this is the nasty politics of the bourgeoisie—the politics of clique, groupism and conspiracy in the higher echelon of administration as opposed to the proletarian politics of class struggle and mass movement. But the Communist Party of Portugal took recourse to nasty bourgeois politics by shunning the path of class struggle.

Secondly, the Communist Party of Portugal, betrayed a deplorable lack of class angularity as they failed to realise that the military, police and the bureaucracy were the different organs of the bourgeois state and the presence of a number of progressive people could not change the basic class character of the capitalist state. According to Comrade Shibdas Ghosh the renowned Marxist thinker of the era these organs should be viewed as "a class system with a definite class outlook and class psychological make up, a definite class process of thinking

and method of work". The military, police and bureaucracy of Portugal ought to have been viewed with this angularity.

Thirdly, the Communist Party abandoned the path of mass movement lest the unity with the petty-bourgeoisie was disturbed and even the important task of maintaining guard against the vacillating section within the allied forces by relentless ideological struggle was also not performed. Under the circumstances, attempting to capture power by conspiratorial means with the help of the state machine, the communist party of Portugal turned its allies into foes.

The International Line of the Revisionists

It is seen that in Indonesia and Portugal a particular political line was followed by the Communist Parties of these two countries. The Communist Parties raised slogan against right reaction and combined with the radical section of the bourgeoisie to handle the state power. They replaced certain reactionary persons from the different organs of the state by their own men and with the help of these organs they attempted to bring about revolution in these countries. Though these patterns were followed in Indonesia and Portugal yet it is not confined within the Communist Parties of these two countries only. It has now become the international line under the Soviet revisionist leadership. The main political line is being implemented in different countries in different ways by the revisionist parties attached to the Soviet revisionist camp. In such countries where the working class has not yet been able to make necessary ideological and organisational preparation, the bourgeois parliamentary system is preferable to dictatorship, but the revisionist party is helping the liberal bourgeoisie either to put an end to this system or drastically curtail its power on the plea that the rightists are using the

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PORTUGAL—IN RETROSPECT

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parliament or they might use it in future. The revisionist party is directly helping the liberal bourgeoisie wearing a radical cloak to establish fascism in the country.

The present revisionist leadership of Soviet Russia has trampled down the Leninist teachings about revolution by discovering a 'Novel' and childish theory of 'non-capitalist and peaceful' way of transition to socialism in different countries by participating in the national democratic governments along with the national bourgeoisie. Their fanciful so-called theory of National Democratic Revolution has practically reduced Leninist theory of revolution to theory of coup d'etat which is anything but revolution. Moreover, when the national bourgeoisie to-day is gradually leaning more on fascism losing absolutely its faith on parliamentary democracy—the pseudo-communists have become instrumental in the matter of hoodwinking the people by the bourgeoisie, destroying parliamentary democracy and bringing about fascism in different countries by giving national bourgeoisie a progressive and radical cloak and in their bid to prove the futility of parliamentary democracy. Thus it is clear that modern revisionism is not only actively helping in the fostering of fascism, but it is moving hand-in-glove with fascism. What they forget is that so long as it does not become possible to bring about a revolutionary transformation of capitalist society, to try to preserve and protect the parliamentary set-up is an indispensable part of revolutionary movement. If under any circumstances the communists help to destroy the foundation of parliamentary democracy along with the national bourgeoisie it will simply mean strengthening the fascistic tendency of the bourgeoisie in different countries. By such acts sheer betrayal to the cause of revolutionary movement

can at best be done. This warning was given by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh long before. It is really astonishing to note that the analysis and prediction of Comrade Ghosh have come cent per cent true in Portugal.

Not only that under the guidance of the Soviet revisionist leadership the class concept of Marxism-Leninism and more so the indispensable necessity of dictatorship of the proletariat is being more and more liberalised to the detriment of revolution.

In some of the capitalist countries the necessity of a separate working class party is even being denied and it is being contemplated that revolution can be made by handling the state apparatus with the help of a party of all classes. With this theory the liberal bourgeoisie is being helped to lay the foundation of fascism.

This counter revolutionary line of the Soviet revisionist leadership which is instrumental in establishing fascism in different countries and which crushed the Portuguese revolution has appeared as the main danger in the world Socialist movement. Khrushchev's revisionist line of transforming Parliament into instrument of people's will has been transformed by the present Soviet leadership into destroying parliament and bringing about revolution by changing some officials of the state machine. Khrushchev advocated the revisionist line that the role of a working class party was not necessary and the present Soviet leadership is also advocating the same and is saying that party with the combination of all classes can bring about revolution.

It is worthwhile to recall in this connection, the great historic lesson taught by Comrade Shibdas Ghosh, an eminent Marxist thinker of the present era, our beloved leader, teacher and the General Secretary of our

party. He has observed that after the exposure of the real face of social democratic forces in Europe, social democracy was working as a definite trend in the Communist movement for a long time. Modern revisionism, he said, is nothing but an outward manifestation of that social democratic trend in the Communist movement. Comrade Ghosh has further pointed out that after its virtual death as a political force to reckon with in the political movement, Trotskyism is also working as another trend or bent of mind in the Communist movement. Com. Ghosh also observed that the theory of formation of national democratic Governments along with the national bourgeoisie of different capitalist countries as a means to "non-capitalist and peaceful" transition to socialism is nothing but a peculiar fusion of these two trends of social-democracy and Trotskyism in Communist movement. So, as the theory of Soviet revisionist leadership to "transform parliament as an instrument of people's will" is a down-right expression of the trend of unadulterated social-democracy, so also the theory of implanting revolution by destroying the old parliamentary, democratic set up by combining with the military, bureaucracy, and the national bourgeoisie in different capitalist countries is a manifestation of the conspiratorial bent of mind of Trotskyism.

So, between imperialism and anti-imperialist liberation movements and between capitalism and anti-capitalist revolutionary struggles—all varieties of revisionism and particularly Soviet revisionism stands as a force of compromise. Naturally, an essential pre-requisite for the victory of liberation movements and the revolutionary struggles to-day is to give complete defeat to all varieties of revisionism and

Sarat Symposium Held In Trivandrum

Trivandrum 8.12.75 : Trivandrum District Council of A.I.D.S.O. had sponsored a Sarat Centenary Symposium yesterday here at University Students' Centre, Trivandrum. The strength of the gathering, which went beyond the expectation of the organisers was an indication of the popularity of Sarat Chandra Chatterjee in Kerala.

The resolutions adopted here urged the government to bring out translations of Sarat works in low priced editions and entrusting this task of translations to a competent committee after its formation, make arrangements to bring out a worthy Biography of Sarat Chandra in Malayalam, inclusion of Sarat Works in School-College Syllabii, give subsidy to able directors and producers who like to make films basing on Sarat works etc.

Participating in the Symposium Mr. P. K. Balakrishnan, an acclaimed literary critic of Malayalam, Editor, Kerala Kaumudi admitted that Sarat Chandra Chatterjee is the litterateur who influenced him the most. He expressed his grievance at the negligence shown to Sarat Chandra who could be ranked among the first rate novelists of the world. He pointed out that there is not even a worthy Biography of Sarat Chandra

particularly Soviet revisionism.

The victory of the world socialist movement entirely depends on defeating this dangerous counter revolutionary revisionist line both ideologically and organisationally. All Marxist-Leninists must be aware of this task. Long Live Revolution !

both in Malayalam and in English.

Prof. (Mrs) Nalina Kumari, a talented literary critic told that Sarat works are the great symbols of the glory of human love. And it need very serious study which is lacking now a days.

Mr. C. K. Lukose in his inspiring address pointed out that Sarat Chandra represented the uncompromising anti-feudal trend in our national struggle in literature.

Mr. Narayanan presided over the function.

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The Rural Sector—The Widening Gap

(Contd. from Page 3)

instead of class struggle which is the objective reality in a class-divided society, there reigns a so-called social partnership of the exploiting and exploited classes. This is nothing but a crafty design to cover the bitter truth of unbearable exploitation of the working people....

Socialism, as the working class understands it means a complete break from the old exploitative bourgeois productive system by making an end to bourgeois relation of production and the production motive of maximisation of profit....

Chasnalla Disaster— Open Enquiry Demanded

Comrade Anil Sarker, Secretary, Bihar Coal Miners' Union affiliated to UTUC (Lenin Sarani) in a statement has said that "we are deeply shocked at the worst-ever mines disaster of 27th December 1975 at Chasnalla Colliery of M/S IISCO which trapped 372 valuable lives (as officially claimed) under 110 million gallons of water. We express our heart-felt sympathy to the members of the families of the trapped miners who have hardly any chance of survival. We are surprised at the reoccurrence of such a massive disaster, when we recall the heart-rending mishap which occurred in their Jitpur Colliery in the year 1973. It is learnt that the cause of the accident was the sudden onrush of long-stacked water from an adjacent abandoned mine due to the blasting operation within the working mine on the side of the wall between the abandoned and the working mine. It is also learnt that the wall gave in and water rushed, immediately after the blasting operation. Besides, the ill-fated mine had no second outlet, had there been so, if not all at least some valuable lives could have been saved.

"From the above the following are some of the pertinent questions that arise :

(1) Whether proper safety devices as required by the Mines Act. and regulations farther improved by different recommendations made by the Court of Enquiries on the past accidents, were rigidly and meticulously followed by the management of the ill-fated colliery :

(2) Whether in reality the thickness of the wall between the abandoned water logged colliery and the working mine was maintained as per requirement of the regulations in such cases and as per inter-

nationally recommended standard.

(3) Whether blasting operation for cutting coal was proper and permissible on the side of such a wall, the other side of which was water-logged :

(4) Whether the management of the mine maintained adequate care and followed safety provisions in these respect :

(5) Whether the directorate of Mines Safety conducted proper supervisions and if so how they permitted blasting operations on such a weak wall :

(6) Whether second outlet, which is required to be maintained in every colliery for quick withdrawal of all men from underground under similar circumstances was maintained in this colliery and if not why.

"We are of strong opinion that this unprecedented accident taking such a heavy toll of valuable lives could have been avoided if there were no element of negligence and carelessness on the part of the management and other concerned authorities.

"We therefore demand immediate setting up of a high power Court of Enquiry as per provisions of Mines Act and regulations to be composed of impartial Mining experts non-attached to any Government organisations to probe into the following : (1) causes and background of Chasnalla Colliery accident (2) to fix the responsibility for the negligence and violation of Mines Safety Regulations (3) to rectify safety provisions in coal mines and to deduce measures for implementations of the same for prevention of future accidents.

We urge upon the Government to institute an impartial enquiry to probe into this tragic incident on the points raised above.

From the Manifesto of the Communist Party

—K. Marx and F. Engels

...The charges against communism made from a religious, a philosophical and generally from an ideological standpoint, are not deserving of serious examination.

Does it require deep intuition to comprehend that man's ideas, views and conceptions, in one word, man's consciousness, changes with every change in the conditions of his material existence, in his social relations and in his social life ?

What else does the history of ideas prove, than that intellectual productive changes its character in proportion as material production is changed ? The ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class.

When people speak of ideas that revolutionise society, they do but express the fact, that within the old society the elements of a new one have been created, and that the dissolution of the old ideas keep even pace with the dissolution of the old conditions of existence.

When the ancient world was in its last throes the ancient religions were overcome by Christianity. When Christian ideas succumbed in the 18th century to the rationalist ideas, the feudal society fought its death battle with the then revolutionary bourgeoisie. The ideas of religious liberty and freedom of conscience merely gave expression to the sway of free competition within the domain of knowledge.

"Undoubtedly", it will be said, "religious, moral, philosophical and juridical ideas have been modified in the course of historical development. But religion, morality, philosophy, political science, and law, constantly survived this change."

"There are, besides, eternal truths, such as Freedom, Justice, etc., that are common to all states of society. But communism abolishes eternal truths, it abolishes all religion and all morality, instead of constituting them on a new basis ; it therefore acts in contradiction to all past historical experience."

What does this accusation reduce itself to ? The history of all past society has consisted in the development of class antagonisms, antagonisms that assumed different forms at different epochs.

But whatever form they may have taken, the fact is common to all past ages viz., the exploitation of one part of society by the other. No wonder, then, that the social consciousness of the past ages, despite all the multiplicity and variety it displays, moves within certain common forms, or general ideas, which cannot completely vanish except with the total disappearance of class antagonisms.

The communist revolution is the most radical rupture with traditional property relations ; no wonder that its development involves the most radical rupture with traditional ideas.....

...The communists fight for the attainment of the immediate aims, for the enforcement of the momentary interests of the working class ; but in the movement of the present, they also represent and take care of the future of that movement.....

In short, the communists everywhere support every revolutionary movement against the existing social and political order of things.

In all these movements they bring to the front

as the leading question in each, the property question, no matter what its degree of development at the time.

Finally, they labour everywhere for the union and agreement of the democratic parties of all countries.

The communists disdain to conceal their views and aims. They openly declare that their ends can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social condition. Let the ruling classes trumble at a communistic revolution. The proletarian have nothing to lose but their chains. They have a world to win.

Working men of all countries unite !

COMRADE CHOU EN-LAI

(Contd. from Page 1)

crusador in the fight against revisionism. The great role of Com. Chou-En-lai in wiping out the conspiracy of Lin Piao will be remembered by the Chinese people for many years to come.

As a leader of CPC Com. Chou had always been a source of inspiration to the rank and file ; both in remoulding their lives in tune with the higher cultural and political ideology of Marxism-Leninism, and as leader of the masses to lead them onto the glorious struggle for consolidating and strengthening socialism in China—to make Chairman Mao's great dream 'Let Hundred Flowers Blossom' come true. And against the background of the cultural revolution in particular, as an architect of the noble task of socialist reconstruction, as a relentless fighter against all the past hangovers in the sphere of culture, the name that stands out strikingly resplendent—the name that new China and all the exploited and oppressed people the world over can never forget—is that of the beloved Comrade Chou-En-lai.

21st Foundation Anniversary of A I D S O

19th January '76 at 3 p.m

University Institute Hall

Speaker : Com. Provash Ghosh

President AIDS O